

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----048681 041042Z /21

O R 040936Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 7029
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMEMBASSY JIDDA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
USMISSION USUN NY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TEL AVIV 4825

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PGOV, IS, US, XF
SUBJECT: SENATOR JAVITS MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN

BEGIN SUMMARY; SENATOR JAVITS TOLD DAYAN HE WAS CONCERNED THAT BEGIN'S RECENT ASSERTIONS HAVE NOT DONE ISRAEL ANY GOOD AND SUGGESTED THAT ATTENTION BE PAID TO THE OPINION OF THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS. IF BEGIN PERSISTS IN HIS STATEMENTS AND THE PRESIDENT IN HIS THERE COULD BE SOME EROSION OF SUPPORT IN THE CONGRESS AND AMONG CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY. DAYAN REPLIED THAT IT IS DIFFICULT FOR ISRAEL TO ACCEPT WHAT THE PERSISTENT HAS SAID BECAUSE IT APPEARS HE HAS AUTHORIZED A PLAN WHICH WOULD BE A TRAGEDY FOR ISRAEL. IT IS A PITY THAT ISRAEL MUST NOW NEGOTIATE WITH THE U.S. RATHER THAN WITH THE ARABS. DAYAN SAID NOW IS THE TIME TO PRESS FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND ISRAEL WILL BE GUIDED BY FOUR POINTS: THE GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED

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TO ALL AGREEMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY PREVIOUS ISRAELI GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING 242; THE GOVERNMENT IS SEEKING NO DELAY BUT IS READY TO GO TO GENEVA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE; ISRAEL WANTS A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE NEGOTIATION BUT IS WILLING TO ACCEPT INTERIM OR SEPARATE AGREEMENTS IF FULL PEACE IS UNATTAINABLE NOW; AND EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE WITHOUT PRIOR

CONDITION REGARDING WHAT CAN BE DISCUSSED AND WHAT
THE OUTCOME MAY BE. END SUMMARY

1. SENATOR JAVITS MET WITH FOREIGN MINISTER DAYAN SUNDAY AFTERNOON, JULY 3, IN JERUSALEM. THE SENATOR NOTED THE BACKGROUND FOR HIS RECENT SPEECH ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND THEN PRESENTED HIS VIEWS ON BEGIN'S VISIT. HE SAID BEGIN'S RECENT ASSERTIONS HAVE NOT DONE ISRAEL ANY GOOD AND HAVE CAUSED CONCERN IN THE CONGRESS. FOR EXAMPLE, IT WOULD PROBABLY NOT BE POSSIBLE NOW TO GET AS MANY AS 76 SENATORS AGAIN TO SIGN A LETTER OF SUPPORT FOR ISRAEL AND HE ESTIMATED IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT EVEN TO GET TWO-THIRDS OF THE SENATE. ISRAEL'S SUPPORTERS ARE WORRIED BECAUSE THEY FEEL ISRAEL IS BEING TOO TOUGH. ISRAEL MAY BE RIGHT BUT THE TONE OF RECENT REMARKS NEEDS TO BE ADJUSTED AND ATTENTION PAID TO THE OPINION OF THE PRESIDENT AND OF CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS WHO WANT TO MAKE PROGRESS THIS YEAR. WHEN BEGIN VISITS WASHINGTON, HE MUST REMEMBER THIS MAY BE HIS ONLY CHANCE; HIS VISIT SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS A PRELIMINARY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS.

2. THERE IS A BODY OF CONGRESSIONAL OPINION WHICH BELIEVES IT IS TIME TO STRIKE A BARGAIN. IF BEGIN PERSISTS IN HIS STATEMENTS, THERE WILL BE SOME
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EROSION IN CONGRESS. THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY REMAINS DEVOTED TO ISRAEL BUT ELEMENTS OF ITS SUPPORT WILL BE SHAKEN IF THERE IS A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE PRESIDENT. SENATOR JAVITS SAID HE HOPED BEGIN WOULD NOT MAKE HIS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT ONE WHICH ENDS ALL DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE U.S. AND ISRAEL. HE SAID HE BELEIVED THE PRESIDENT WOULD LIKE BEGIN AND BEGIN WOULD FIND THE PRESIDENT SYMPATHETIC.

3. DAYAN REPLIED THAT ISRAEL DOES NOT WANT A CONFRONTATION AND AN EROSION OF SUPPORT, BUT ASKED WHETHER ISRAEL MUST ACCEPT ALL THE PRESIDENT SAYS. IF THE ELEMENTS OF THE MONDALE SPEECH (RETURN TO 67 BOUNDARIES, PALESTINE STATE, SECURITY BORDERS) ARE THE OUTLINES OF AN AMERICAN PLAN, THIS WOULD BE A TRAGEDY FOR ISRAEL. THE PRESIDENT CANNOT SAY TO ISRAEL THIS IS THE SITUATION WITHOUT FIRST HEARING FROM ISRAEL; NO ISRAELI GOVERNMENT CAN ACCEPT THIS. ISRAELIS WOKE UP ONE MORNING LAST WEEK AND HEARD THE

OUTCOME OF THE NEGOTIATIONS; THE ARABS NO LONGER HAVE TO SIT DOWN WITH THE ISRAELIS. IF ISRAEL MUST RISK LOSING AMERICAN SUPPORT BY NOT AGREEING TO THIS OUTLINE, SO BE IT; IT IS BETTER TO LOSE SUPPORT THAN TO LOSE THE COUNTRY. WASHINGTON HAS MADE STATEMENTS ABOUT BOUNDARIES, THE NATURE OF PEACE, AND THE PALESTINIANS BEFORE ONE WORD HAS BEEN EXCHANGED WITH THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT. THE U.S. HAS STOPPED BEING A MEDIATING PARTY AND HAS BECOME A PARTY TELLING ISRAEL WHERE TO SIGN AN ALREADY NEGOTIATED AGREEMENT.

4. THE SENATOR RESPONDED THAT THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT FEEL HE HAS WRITTEN THE TICKET AND DAYAN'S

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VIEWS AND REASONING WHY ISRAEL CANNOT ACCEPT THE OUTLINED PLAN WOULD BE VERY PERSUASIVE. HIS WORDS AND INDIGNATION AND SINCERITY WOULD BE IMPRESSIVE AND WOULD BE HEARD AS THE WORDS OF A FRIEND REASONING WITH A FRIEND. IT MUST BE REMEMBERED, HOWEVER, THAT THE U.S. PUBLIC IS

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FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACIT IMMEDIATE 7030
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
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NOT IMPRESSED WITH THE ARGUMENT THAT CERTAIN TERRITORY WAS UNDER JEWISH SOVEREIGNTY FOUR THOUSAND YEARS AGO.

5. DAYAN REPLIED THAT BEGIN WILL CONDUCT THE DISCUSSION IN THE PROPER MANNER BUT REPEATED THAT IT IS A PITY THAT HE MUST NEGOTIATE WITH THE BROOKINGS PLAN AND WITH BRZEZINSKI AND NOT WITH THE ARABS. WE HAVE PRESENTED THE WRONG PLAN WITHOUT GOI APPROVAL. HE RECALLED THE SINAI WITHDRAWAL OF 1956 AND NOTED THAT AGAIN THERE IS NO WORD OF A CONCRETE GUARANTEE FOR ISRAEL.

6. SENATOR JAVITS SAID HE WAS SURE THE PRESIDENT WOULD WANT TO HEAR THE PRIME MINISTER'S VIEWS ON THESE SUBJECTS AND TO DISCUSS WHAT ISRAEL FEELS IT MUST HAVE AND HOW THE U.S. CAN CONTRIBUTE. DAYAN SAID BEGIN WOULD BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS THESE

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POINTS. IT MUST BE REMEMBERED THAT ISRAEL CANNOT DEPEND ON INDIVIDUAL ARAB LEADERS, WHO MAY DISAPPEAR AND BE REPLACED BY OTHERS; THEREFORE, IT WILL BE ESSENTIAL TO KNOW, WHEN DISCUSSING LINES, WHETHER THOSE LINES ARE TO BE SECURED BY AMERICAN MARINES, YUGOSLAV U.N. FORCES, OR EGYPTIAN PROMISES.

7. THE SENATOR AGREED THAT ISRAELI SECURITY IS A VERY COMPELLING FACTOR AND MUST BE RELATED TO U.S. INTERESTS WHENEVER THE TWO ARE PARALLEL. HE EMPHASIZED AGAIN THAT MUCH IS AT STAKE AND THE PRESSURES OF TIME MEAN THERE CAN BE NO PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION. DAYAN AGREED THAT "IT IS CLOSE TO TWELVE O'CLOCK" AND SAID THERE ARE FOUR IMPORTANT POINTS:

--A) THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT IS COMMITTED TO ALL AGREEMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY FORMER GOVERNMENTS, INCLUDING 242;

--B) THE GOVERNMENT WANTS NO DELAY AND WISHES TO GO TO GENEVA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE;

--C) ISRAEL WANTS A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE, ALTHOUGH IT IS WILLING TO CONSIDER INTERIM OR SEPARATE AGREEMENTS IF NECESSARY--IT IS NOT SAYING "ALL OR NOTHING," HOWEVER; AND

--D) THERE IS NO AREA WHICH IS NON-NEGOTIABLE--
EVERYTHING IS NEGOTIABLE WITHOUT PRIOR
CONDITIONS AS TO AREA OR OUTCOME--ISRAEL IS PREPARED
TO GO HONESTLY AND OPENLY TO GENEVA AND SEE WHAT CAN
BE DONE. ISRAEL IS READY FOR ANY OUTCOME WHICH
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IS ACCEPTABLE TO BOTH PARTIES AND ANY ALLEGATION TO
THE CONTRARY IS NOT CORRECT.

8. THE SENATOR THEN ASKED DAYAN IF HE FELT JORDAN,
EGYPT AND SYRIA WERE READY TO NEGOTIATE. THE
MINISTER SAID HE HAD BEEN FACING THIS PROBLEM FOR
30 YEARS AND THERE HAS NEVER BEEN A BETTER TIME. THE
TIME HAS NEVER BEEN MORE RIPE THAN NOW. HE
EMPHASIZED THIS WAS HIS VIEW AND SUGGESTED THE
QUESTION BE PUT TO BEGIN.

8. COMMENT: WHILE DAYAN WAS FIRM AND UNRELENTING
IN HIS VIEWS, HE WAS PERSUASIVE AND EFFECTIVE.
IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER HIS VIEWS ARE
SHARED BY HIS PRIME MINISTER. TOMORROW'S
MEETING WITH BEGIN MAY PROVIDE AN ANSWER.
END COMMENT

9. THIS MESSAGE HAS BEEN CLEARED BY CODEL.
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Message Attributes

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Disposition Approved on Date:
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